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THE INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITIES OF AMERICAN CHILDREN.

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The paper here presented is the outgrowth of an interest kindled by a study of Froebel's "Education of Man." It was undertaken in the hope that it might be able to throw additional light on the pedagogical value of games,—an important educational factor sometimes lost sight of in our modern devotion to the technique of formal instruction. The social activities of childhood have been approached from three lines of attack. An individual biographical study has been carried out at great length. Such a study furnishes opportunities for careful psychological analysis, something impracticable by the remaining methods. Secondly, a topical syllabus covering the most important lines of interest was issued. This supplied material by which the merely local and personal peculiarities of the first study might be checked off; also many of the confessions were of much more frank a nature than those of children. Lastly, the children themselves were appealed to, and, by a series of compositions, an attempt was made to estimate the relative value of the different factors in the child-life of to-day. In addition to the empirical studies a brief survey of some of the leading adult societies for children is included. A brief survey of the literature of the subject is appended. The paper deals only with the period of childhood, or from the years from four to fourteen, although a continuation of the study through the period of adolescence is projected.¹

¹I take this occasion to express my obligations to Dr. G. Stanley Hall for his many suggestions, without which the article in its present form would have been impossible. I am also indebted to the criticism

PART I.

STUDY OF CHILDREN'S COMPOSITIONS.

The best approach to the subject is through a discussion of the results obtained from children's compositions. This section aims to afford a broad, general view of children's spontaneous societies in their quantitative relations. The succeeding sections of the paper will contain an analysis of the results here obtained.

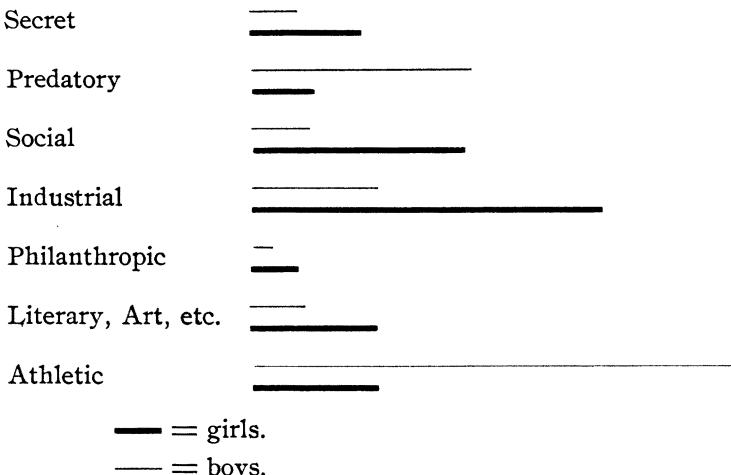
The test given was short and simple in character. The children were directed to write a composition or language exercise on some society or club. The only qualifying condition was that the club should be one which they had organized themselves without adult assistance. The teachers were enjoined from assisting, suggesting or in any manner influencing the pupils. The test was given in all of the grades of the school at the same time, and to prevent communication between the pupils concerning the exercise, it was given unexpectedly. The children were led to believe that the work was for their teachers and had no clue to its true purpose.

Responses were collected from five cities: Manchester, New Hampshire; Chicopee and Springfield, Massachusetts; Stockton and Santa Rosa, California. Thus the two extremities of the country, New England and the Pacific States, are represented and the two extremes of rural and metropolitan life have been avoided. 2,906 children were given the test. Of the returns 398 were defective in certain particulars, in a majority of cases the age of the pupil being omitted, they were in consequence useless for the purposes of the investigation.

of Dr. W. H. Burnham, of Clark University, to Mr. Frederic L. Burk and Prof. Will S. Monroe, of Westfield. Prof. Earl Barnes has furnished valuable material. The statistical study of children's papers was only feasible through the co-operation of Superintendents E. M. Cox, of Santa Rosa, California; J. M. Barr, of Stockton, California; George Winch, of Manchester, New Hampshire; Clarence Brodeur, of Chicopee, Massachusetts, and Miss Fannie B. Gates, of Springfield, Massachusetts. Among those who have sent in valuable responses to the questionnaire are, Mrs. Hattie Mason Willard, of Escondido, California; Prof. Everett Shepherdson, of the Los Angeles State Normal; Prof. Charles J. Bennett, of the San Jose State Normal; Miss Margaret Schallenberger, of Stanford University; Miss Estelle M. Darrah, of the Mankato State Normal School, Mankato, Minnesota; Miss Lillie A. Williams, of the New Jersey State Normal, Trenton; Prof. M. H. Scudder, of New Haven, Connecticut; Prof. Oscar Chrisman, of the Emporia Kansas State Normal, and Miss Alma Patterson, of Riverside, California.

I also desire to thank the secretaries of the various children's societies for their uniformly courteous response to numerous requests for information. I have been especially aided by Dr. William Byron Forbush, of Winthrop Church, Boston, who has placed his valuable collection of material at my disposal.

CHART SHOWING SEX DIFFERENCES.



Of the remaining 2,508 responses, 810 or 32% signified that they had never belonged to such organizations, although a great majority expressed a willingness to do so if opportunities presented themselves. As would be expected, the proportion without such experience was much higher during the earlier years of childhood.

Although the test called only for the spontaneous organizations of children, in many cases the limitation was disregarded. 641 pupils wrote accounts of organizations in which adult influence was apparent, the great majority of these consisted of church and philanthropic societies. It is worth noting that a distinct sex difference is here shown to exist. While the number of the two sexes writing was approximately equal, 384 girls gave responses of this type as against 257 boys. The tone of the papers differed, the girls being decidedly more enthusiastic than the boys.

Of children's organizations, there remained 1,166. The classification of these was a task of no small difficulty, owing to the lack of clear or definite ideas in the minds of the writers. Some clubs seemed to include almost every line of activity. These, however, were fortunately few in number, and were left to the last, when the collator had his previous experience as a guide. They, however, introduced an unavoidable personal element into the tabulation. Of the 1,166 papers, some 40 might be classed as complex. The remaining papers seemed to fall into the following seven classes:

1. *Secret Clubs.* Under this head were collected all clubs of whatever nature having secret features. While the majority were for the purpose of having a good time, this was by no means universally the case. Clubs to prevent swearing, societies for trout fishing and literary organizations, all had their secret features. The number of secret societies appeared to be much smaller than was anticipated. As will be seen by the accompanying charts, this class of societies remained a fairly constant element during the ten years recorded, and was characterized throughout by a large feminine preponderance.

2. *Predatory Organizations.* These represent the migratory, building and out-of-door instincts, and include bands of robbers, clubs for hunting and fishing, play armies, organized fighting bands between separate districts, schools or sections of a town or city, as well as associations for building houses, forts, etc. Organized games are reserved for a succeeding section. The predatory organization is the typical association of small boys. After twelve years of age boys transfer their interest from these loose, predatory bands, to more definitely constructed athletic clubs. This form of children's organization is peculiar, liable to perversions, which will be dealt with at length in the next section. Reference to the charts shows that predatory organizations belong to boys, and are strongest in the earlier years.

3. *Social Clubs.* They represent that element in childhood which insists on having a good time, and are the most immediate outgrowth of the social instinct. In many cases their promoters frankly confess that their chief object in organizing was to create an excuse for holding parties, picnics and the like. This is one of the favorite girls associations, they outnumbering the boys in the ratio of five to one. It is a fairly constant element during the ten years represented in the study, and forms slightly more than ten per cent. of the total.

4. *Industrial Associations.* This form introduces the element of personal advantage. The most common forms are sewing circles, giving shows, collecting clubs and playing store. This is the strongest of all the girls associations. The ratio is 187 to 59 in their favor, and the type is a uniform factor through childhood. It has often subordinate philanthropic features, as in case of a girl's sewing society, which meets primarily to sew, and then incidentally helps the poor.

5. *Philanthropic Associations.* Here we have two forms. The first consists of societies, the chief object of which is to help other people. This form predominates. Secondly, there are clubs organized for mutual help against such vices as using slang, swearing, smoking and the like. Such organizations are but slightly represented, numbering only 22 girls and 11

TABLE

Showing the growth of children's social interests from 8 to 17. Collated, 2,284; defective, 398; refused to write, 224; grand total, 2,906.

	AGE	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
No. of papers collected	.	53	78	119	167	199	205	150	104	30	16
No. of societies reported	.	50	67	127	189	208	224	119	96	44	13
No. not belonging	.	35	53	95	133	187	173	120	72	38	12
No. reporting more than one	.	28	44	118	155	164	188	90	80	34	11
No. having secrets	.	22	26	38	35	37	33	36	35	25	7
No. of predatory societies	.	25	26	31	49	54	49	25	17	14	3
No. social clubs	.	1	2	5	5	10	6	3	0	4	3
No. industrial organizations	.	4	5	3	0	7	12	7	3	4	0
No. philanthropic associations	.	0	5	13	11	11	11	6	5	5	1
No. literary, art and musical clubs	.	0	0	5	4	3	2	5	3	1	0
No. clubs athletic games	.	1	1	4	10	8	15	12	5	10	2
No. adult societies for children	.	20	25	44	56	66	73	40	32	9	2
		14	19	32	41	45	69	20	20	7	0

Boldface figures=girls.

Lightface figures=boys.

boys. For obvious reasons it has been impossible to chart them. While every precaution was taken to exclude from this rubric, all societies to which the slightest suspicion of adult influence was attached, yet, owing to the brevity of some papers, there may have slipped in such clubs without evidence. A reasonable suspicion may be attached to a number of these papers.

6. *Organizations for the Promotion of Literary, Artistic and Musical Training.* As the curve on the chart indicates, this form of organization belongs more properly to adolescence than childhood. It plays a very unimportant part until the age of 15 is reached. Here, as in the two previous classes, the girls lead the boys in the ratio of more than 2 to 1.

7. *Athletic Clubs.* Including general athletic clubs, football, baseball and cycling clubs. This is the strongest of all the forms of organization here presented. It is the boys' association, par excellence, they outnumbering the girls at the ratio of more than 5 to 1. Reference to the curve shows its increasing popularity until the last year is reached, where the small number of papers invalidates the conclusion. The papers show that these clubs, once organized, are more abiding than the previous forms of association, and mean more to the children involved. They are taken more seriously, and bring in the elements of co-operation and subordination to a larger extent. From these facts it would seem that they tend toward a more valuable form of social training.

CONCLUSIONS.

While the present study is not sufficient in itself to justify any generalization or criticism of the prevailing forms of children's organizations in America, it may be well to summarize what appear to the writer to be some of its chief conclusions.

1. American children left to themselves organize. This organizing tendency is rather unevenly distributed and large numbers of children are out of its sweep, but it still exists, and in the smaller cities of the country includes the majority of the children. Whether this tendency is common to childhood in all lands or peculiar to America and the downward reflection of our democratic institutions, is a question only to be answered by the study of large numbers of children elsewhere, the small amount of biographical data collected seems to support the latter hypothesis. A close inspection of the papers, and a correspondence with students of childhood throughout the country, supports Tarde and Baldwin in their view that imitation is the all-important factor in the social process. This conclusion can only be stated tentatively here, but will be enlarged upon in the following section.

2. Girls take much more kindly than boys to societies organized by adults for their improvement; they also show much stronger altruistic tendencies than boys.

3. Girls are more nearly governed by adult motives in forming their organizations than boys. They organize societies to promote sociability, to advance their interests, to improve themselves and others. Boys are nearer primitive man; they associate to hunt, fish, roam, fight, and to contest physical superiority with each other.

4. With the exception of clubs for having good times, holding parties, etc., boys and girls are but seldom together in their organizations. This generalization does not apply to the country districts.

5. Secrecy plays but a minor role in the institutional activities of the American child.

PART II.

REMINISCENT PAPERS.

In order to secure a more favorable opportunity for the study of the social instinct genetically, another method of approach was resorted to. A topical questionnaire (No. 16 in the Clark University Series for 1897-98), treating of the more common forms of children's associations was issued with a request that all experience of any value in tracing the idea be included. The syllabus called for as exact details as possible concerning: adult stimulus, duration of the society, methods of choosing leaders, causes of dissolution, and numerous other important details. 453 reminiscences were received in response to this circular.

PERIOD OF IMITATION.

In a majority of the reminiscences, the years of childhood from four to fourteen contain two distinctly marked periods: the first of these stages, lasting in many cases until the age of ten years, may be characterized as the period of free spontaneous imitation of every form of adult institution; the child responds easily and sympathetically to his environment. He reproduces in his games and miniature associations as exact a copy as possible of the life around him. In the case of one boy, whose life history has been made a special study, the response to external social stimuli at different periods has been most marked. From four to seven placed on a farm, his play time was spent in raking and threshing leaves, in constructing tiny fences and building barns and corrals. At seven, removed to the sea shore, he immediately makes ships and harbors and turns the gutter into a lake. Later, being isolated in the city, surrounded by an adult library he reads history and dreams of

wars and battles; the back yard is covered with fortifications, the dead almond blossoms as they fell from the trees were marshalled into opposing hosts. Boys in groups play in the same manner. The Corbett-Fitzsimmons prize fight was the signal for an outbreak of pugilistic enthusiasm among the boys of the entire country. The present war with Spain has called into existence thousands of military bands among the school boys. Stamp collecting spreads in much the same manner as the latest popular song.

Many cases of direct imitation have been noted in the returns, a few of which are included.

In a New Jersey school the teacher reads an Indian story on Friday afternoon. All the succeeding winter the school played a game, in which the pupils were divided into two tribes of Indians who waged war during the recess.

In Connecticut, bands of robbers and armies were organized "after what some one had read in some book."

Another observer writes: "There was no outside stimulus to the movement, the fights were modeled as nearly to the storming of forts in history as the boys were able to understand."

A teacher reports that having studied the wars of the United States in their classroom, the boys divided themselves into two snowball armies representing the North and the South.

An additional observation reads that boys from eight to ten, who belonged to a band of robbers, "got their ideas from books."

Vast masses of similar testimony might be cited.

PLAYING FAMILY.

To appreciate the full force of the imitative impulse, one must study the daily life of the average child. Perhaps the most common form for very young children and girls is playing house or family. Many observers testify that the reproduction of the one particular family with which the child is best acquainted, is exact even to the most minute details. Scarcely a reminiscence has been received which does not enter into this earliest and most fundamental of the social processes.

A girl of 17 writes of her early childish experience: "We had a mother, father and children. Sometimes two or three families were formed so that we had cousins and aunts. We used to dress up in any clothes we could find and go to see them, and go out riding and walking. We used to get up family gatherings and parties, and have meals just as any family."

Another girl of 18 years observed a little boy of four years and a little girl of three, who always played father and mother, the dolls being their children. The wife can never get her husband to mind the children. He will walk out and say: "Have my dinner ready when I come back." The other day he told her to have beef-

steak. She said: "I can't fry beefsteak; you'll have to do it yourself." The boy said: "Papas don't fry meat." The little girl responded: "Yes they do, for my papa did one day." The boy finally had to give in and let her cook something else.

PLAYING STORE.

The American child, like his father, seems to devote his best energies to industrial undertakings—the most common form of which is playing store. Of all forms of social amusement this seems to delight children most. "One of the games I delighted in. The most interesting of anything I ever played." These are expressions typical of the attitude of the average American child. This game varies in complexity from the lemonade stand in the front yard to the elaborate industrial machinery of the miniature community immortalized in President Hall's "Story of a Sand Pile." Some typical returns are epitomized as follows:

G., 16. "The play-room was like a little town all by itself. There were paper houses and barns furnished even to the minutest article, and stables filled with animals of every type and grace. The church was a huge wooden clock, which was made to strike just before the services. Our people were conveyed about in carriages, in the toy train or by means of cars made to go back and forth across the room. Our money we made on rainy days. The bills were cut from green paper, the pennies and silver from cardboard. We took great pains and interest to make them as nearly as possible like the actual."

G., 14. "We had a great deal of fun building our store, for we wanted it just like a real one. When we had finished building it we would gather leaves and grass and other things to sell. Then we appointed one of the children for storekeeper, one for bookkeeper, another for errand boy, and one for mother. We were never tired of playing store, and would often keep it up a whole morning."

B., 11. This youth and a friend formed a stamp society, and issued 15 shares. Of these they kept 8, paying for only one, however, and sold the remainder. A flourishing business soon resulted, but the remaining stockholders complained that the promoters had not paid their share. A cash capital was suggested, but as the stamp fad was on the decrease it was thought better to auction off the stock on hand and dissolve the corporation. The auction netted a 60% dividend on two months' work.

PLAYING CHURCH.

The imitation of religious services are not as common as games of the two preceding classes. This is probably due to the fact that the multitude of religious agencies formed exclusively for children, obviate for vast numbers the need of attending regular services. One reminiscence in three, on the average, makes mention of this game. In case of young children it is purely a game, as the following witnesses testify:

B., 5. Gathered the chickens together in the back yard and would preach to them.

G., 16. "When I was about six or seven years old, my sister, my

brother and myself used to hold prayer meetings. We did not have any special object in doing this, but simply thought it a rather grown-up thing to do. The only object I remember in playing prayer meeting, was to see which one of us could best imitate the older people. We also tried to see who could talk the loudest and longest."

G., 18 at 9. "When I went to school we girls used to play prayer meetings. We had gone to Methodist prayer meetings and revivals and observed the earnestness displayed, and we would imitate the proceedings at school, which we thought very amusing."

G., 17 at 7. The children started a prayer meeting, and they used to lead the meeting and pray and sing. The leaders were chosen by the girls and boys. The rough ones had to lead the meetings as well as the good ones. The organization was closely copied after adult prayer meetings. The society lasted for quite a long time, but was finally broken up because the older persons did not think it was right.

The transition from such pure imitations to organizations involving something of individual inventiveness and purpose is easy as the child advances in years. A record of a society involving strongly the latter element comes from the daughter of a missionary in Asia Minor.

G., 16. "We called the society the H. O. A., these letters standing for the words help one another. The purpose of its members was to help one another to be good. Their age varied from eight to twelve. Every week the society met at one of the homes and held a prayer meeting. There was a collection taken, which was given to the poor. The members took turns in conducting the prayer meetings, which were the same in form as ordinary church prayer meetings. All who joined pledged themselves to be as good as possible. If they should forget their promise at any time, and should quarrel or engage in any impiety, that member of the society who should happen to see the deed was expected to remind the wrong doers by saying H. O. A. At the sound of these magic words the sinners were expected to desist from breaking the promise. If not they were liable to be expelled. Our parents knew nothing about it until it was well started."

EXCEPTIONAL CASES OF IMITATION.

The preceding paragraphs outline the most common forms of social imitation of American children, but by no means exhaust the list. Playing school is treated in a paper soon to appear, by Mr. D. E. Phillips. A lonely, or abnormal or particularly imaginative child may imitate anything which comes within the range of his experience or reading. A number of these out-of-the-way imitations have been collected, of which a few samples are given.

A girl of eleven organized the worship of Pallas Athene. There was a deep ravine with a stream of water. In a broad place in the stream, there were two large flat rocks. On the bank a young sycamore grew from an old stump. This was Pallas Athene, and the flat rocks the scene of her worship. (Pallas grew from the head of her father Zeus.)

There was a court consisting of a king, queen and subjects.

There was also a priest who officiated at sacrifices. The king and queen wore golden rod upon their heads and waded in the streams, attended by their subjects, and gathered lovely flowers for Pallas Athene, and caught cray fish, which were duly smashed upon her altar. Sometimes there was a special celebration, when, in addition to the slaughtered cray fish and beautiful flower decorations, and pickles stolen from the dinner table, there would be an elaborate ceremony.

The same girl organized a witch's band, which met at a deserted log cabin, and carried on an elaborate witch ritual. This band, because of its uncanny doings, was intensely disliked by the people in the neighborhood.

A country boy of ten, and much given to reading history, would, when picking up potatoes, throw them in heaps, and would explain to his companions that a certain heap was Athens and another Sparta. When asked why each was so named, he would point to some small physical peculiarity, like a rock for the Acropolis, as a defense of his characterization.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

Many of these games have a formal institutional organization. Presidents, secretaries and treasurers are chosen with exceedingly faint ideas of their respective functions. Before the age of ten such officers are chosen simply because children want their societies to appear like those of their parents.

A girl of 16 writes as follows: "When I was about nine years old a secret society was formed in the school. It was called the independent society of young people. We had a treasurer, secretary and president, though we never seemed to think of them as having any special duties."

From a girl of 18: "When they wanted a constitution, they appointed a member to write it for them. This member went home and looked through a chest of papers belonging to her father, until she found an old constitution of an organization to which her father belonged. She copied this constitution, changing some of the words to suit their own little society. Although they had this constitution, they very seldom paid any attention to it. If they wanted to do certain things, they would do it whether the constitution allowed them to or not. The only reason they had a constitution was because they thought they must have one in order to become a society."

CASTE FEELING.

From the evidence at hand, it would seem that the feeling of caste reaches its culminating point of expression about the end of the tenth year. Among very young children, it is almost wholly absent. Girls become acquainted with social, racial and industrial differences through their mothers; boys from their associates. While its expression in the form of bullying and teasing, as might be supposed, is more intensive among

boys, the feeling of exclusiveness and pride appears much stronger in girls. Girls, if so told by their mothers, think themselves too good to play with girls of the working classes or of alien nationalities. Boys, on the contrary, will often run away and disobey parental injunctions to get a chance to play football and baseball with boys of any nationality, Italians, Jews, Irish and even negroes. Although the papers are all from the northern States, negroes are mentioned most often as being victims of caste feeling.

Some examples of individual reactions are presented :

G., 23. Children have an idea that wealthy people are better than poor people, that ministers are superior to others, that American people are superior to foreigners, that colored people are degraded.

G., 18. "I have observed that children distinguish between color and nationality. A few distinguish between the wealth of a person."

G., 18. "I don't think little children have any idea of caste, at least very few; only those who have been taught to have one by their elders. Before they go to school, we see them playing with almost any child, whether of different nationality or race, rich or poor. When they enter school they are not particular in selecting friends."

G., 16. Children almost universally have a distinct idea of despising and taunting those whom they consider below themselves in worldly position.

G., 18. Children think more of their position than when older. They feel the difference between themselves and some other child more strongly.

B., 18. In the Christian Endeavor Society of our town, there were two half colored children. The other children continually teased and taunted these two children.

G., 18. Children generally make color and dress a dividing line in society. I have seen children teasing each other because of race and wealth in numerous cases.

PERIOD OF INVENTION.

During the period from ten to fourteen, associations among children assume a new character. There is less of imitation and play and more of invention and the following of instinct. Children strive less to be like adults. Among boys there is a tendency to form social units characteristic of lower stages of civilization. Bands of robbers, Indians, pirates, the wandering soldier companies of the middle ages, furnish the models of these organizations. Although environment determines the degree of diversion, it is present among boys of every degree of culture. The most marked tendency of this reversion is the falling back on the physical ideals of savagery, and their substitution for the ethical and intellectual ideals of the present civilization. As this is the most important of all the spontaneous organizations of children, a rather full account of two or three such organizations will be inserted.

A number of boys about ten years of age organized an Indian club. The badge of the lodge was a tomahawk. The call was

intended to resemble a war-whoop. "The process of initiation was that they put the subject in a guano sack and jumped him up and down and rolled him over and over on the ground. Another process of theirs was to get the subject to get up on a fence, and the chief had a paddle cut full of round holes, and would hit the subject with it. The society tried to follow the ways of Indian camp, and cooked things over a little fire, and had a tent for a meeting place, and wore feathers in their hats. The chiefs wore feathers down their back."

B. "With a number of chums I belonged to a band of prospective robbers at the age from eleven to thirteen. It was known as the Jesse James gang. It was the time when the James boys figured prominently in the papers, and our gang was modeled after the original as closely as possible. The captain was known as Jesse James until the real Jesse was killed, then he insisted on changing his personality and becoming Frank James. We had different quarters during the continuance of the organization; at one time we occupied the garret of an unoccupied building; at another we established headquarters under an empty house, gaining access by burrowing under the foundation; and still later an artificial cave was begun, but not finished, in the woods. Each member had either a real revolver or an imitation of one. Various other weapons were also displayed. The activities of the band were limited to making raids on empty houses, robbing imaginary banks and the like. No real robbery was ever attempted. There seemed to be a distinct line of demarcation in our estimates of the kind of robbery we were imitating, and real thefts we had been taught were wrong."

B., 23. "I remember having belonged to a gang of boys ranging from ten to fourteen years of age. There was no formal organization, but the boy who excelled in the sports was recognized leader. A member had no special qualifications; if he would do what the rest did, he belonged to the gang. A great deal was said about initiation when a new boy appeared in the neighborhood. During the course of a few days the new boy received his 'bumps' several times, besides being put through the paddles and ducked if it were swimming time, and other minor annoyances."

"Often the gang would separate; some of the boys splitting off under the leadership of a rebellious spirit, but eventually consolidating again. If a boy were disagreeable, refused to join in the game or the like, 'he could n't go with us any more.' To us this was a good and sufficient punishment; the offender in every case showed a supreme indifference as whether he went with us or not, but generally returned in a few days. There was great rivalry between our gang and one in another section of the town. No boy could venture into the enemy's territory unless accompanied by a few companions. At nearly every meeting of the two gangs, or sections of them, a stone fight ensued, with the smaller body retreating slowly, with such remarks as: 'Wait till we catch you alone,' or 'Let's get some fellows and go back.' Each gang reigned supreme on its own hunting ground, and successfully repelled all invasions of the enemy.

"I should have said that the gang generally took its name from one of the leaders, one of the wards, or from some feature of the locality, as the 'Rubber Mill Gang,' 'Johnny Jones and them,' etc. In the winter a club was formed by the gang, the only requisite being a club house in which the members assembled, and really suffered a sort of

martyrdom from cold and smoke, although no one had the moral courage to affirm that more comfort was to be had outside.

"As far as I know the gang exists yet, younger members coming into it all the time, and old members occasionally reappearing to watch the youngsters or chat with companions about former days, and fights and what used to be.

"Although, as I have said, there was no formal organization of the crowd spoken of above, I have often felt what an intense loyalty and *esprit de corps* existed among the boys, who, although they quarrelled and fought among themselves, were always ready to assist comrades against members of another gang. And there is great sympathy between former members and the present crowd, which puts me in mind of the feeling between graduates and their Alma Mater."

LEADERSHIP.

As among the North American aborigines, leadership in boys' predatory associations is largely a matter of physical strength and daring. It is, in a vast majority of cases, the boy who can "lick" the other boys, who can throw a stone the farthest, who can ride in the most daring manner, who becomes captain. As the members of the gang are approximately the same age, superior years is an absent factor. Daring sometimes takes the place of physical strength, but the contests are of too primitive a nature to permit intellectual superiority to count for much.

The following are notes from observers :

G., 17. The chiefs on either side were the persons who could run fastest. If they could run fastest, they could take the most scalps, and were therefore the bravest.

B., 20. The best fighter of the boys usually became leader.

B., 19. The toughest boy in each town became leader. They picked out the lad who was strongest and could fight the best.

B., 18. There was no formal organization (of the gang). The best fighter generally took the lead in getting it up, and was recognized as commander.

B., 10. The leader was the one who was the most daring and who could fight any other boy in any other gang.

B., 14. The bravest and most daring always became the leader in these organizations.

B., 15. The leader was the largest and strongest boy in the crowd, and the one that had a great deal of self-confidence and was very daring.

G., 18. The strongest boys were asked to join the fight, and the best fighter was chosen leader. If the boys did not follow the directions of the leader they could not remain in the fort.

MAINTENANCE OF DISCIPLINE.

Preserving order within the gang is a task of no great difficulty. The basis of selection for leadership explains why this is so. The leader is the embodiment of the ideal of the association. In a band which puts a premium on physical powers, he is the strongest. With few exceptions, he has little diffi-

culty in making his authority felt. His treatment of rebels and malcontents is usually summary and effective.

B., 14. What the leader says is law, and if not obeyed immediately the disobedient person is considered an enemy, and is dealt with as such.

B., 18. If any of the boys did not obey they were cuffed over the ears, and sent home until they got over it.

G., 18. If the members did not obey they were bullied by the other boys.

B., 16. If the members would not conform to the rules of the society they were expelled from it, but not before they had received a good beating from the remaining members.

OUTCOME OF PREDATORY ASSOCIATIONS.

However innocent these predatory bands may be among small boys, when the age of twelve is reached and the predatory function remains primary and is not subordinated to the athletic, they become dangerous. The members are no longer satisfied with mere play, and danger is a spice which exerts more and more of a fascination. The robber knight, the pirate chief, and the savage marauder become real models. A few typical instances from a vast mass of testimony are here given :

B., 16. "There was a band of young boys in our city formed for the purposes of stealing. They were between the ages of twelve and sixteen. They formed it to steal all they could get. They stole milk bottles off people's steps early in the morning, rugs from the door steps, iron car couplers, fruit and vegetables from the stores, and anything else which they could get. They took these things to a den, as they called it, which was an old vacant barn."

B., 15. "The boys of our town often formed in parties and raided the farmers melon patches. There was no formal organization or election of officers."

B., 18. "At my home a good many boys form clubs. When thus banded they steal boards for election day bonfires. One club called itself the 'Gang.' They have no adult stimulus."

G., 17. Reports a society formed to bother a family in the community who were spiritualists. It lasted as long as the members were boys.

B., 18. "There was no formal organization, but there was a planning how, when, and what they should steal. The objects stolen were not trivial, but valuable objects."

G., 18. "I was in the country last year, and several boys were talking about stealing fruit and vegetables. They planned to stick by each other and meet in the woods, bringing with them all they could find. I think they were going to camp there for the summer, that was why they were going to steal."

Similar cases are continually finding their way into the newspapers and police courts.

The *San Francisco Examiner* of February 28, 1898, contains the report of the examination of Roy Palmer, the leader of an organized gang of boy pilferers, the members of which belong to the first families in the city of Salinas, California.

The lads had banded together for the purpose of entering stores and stealing anything they could lay hands on, selling their loot to other people, and plundering them while so doing. They were well organized, with a president, secretary and treasurer. The money received for stolen goods was used to buy candies, gum and ten cent detective stories. Pistols and cartridges were found in a cache where they had been hidden by the boys.

A similar affair is recorded in the *Boston Herald* of March 19, 1898, as follows: "A gang of youthful marauders, twelve in number, living in Wollaston, has been committing a number of petty thefts in that place. It is alleged that the boys abstracted the signal boxes of the New York, New Haven and Hartford R. R., at Wollaston. Houses were entered by the gang, and electric bells and connections stolen. They also broke into the Golf Club of Wollaston, at Norfolk Downs, and a number of golf sticks and balls were stolen from the lockers.

"There are a dozen boys in the gang whose ages range from 8 to 15 years. This embryo Jesse James gang had built a number of huts in the thickets of the lowlands of Wollaston, where they had hidden their plunder. They had utilized the electrical appliances stolen from the houses mentioned to connect the huts for electrical communication. The members of the youthful gang belong to good families, and the injured parties are disinclined to prosecute the offenders."

In the large cities, such gangs have become not only a nuisance, but a positive danger. A thorough study of their working in New York City has been made by Mr. Jacob R. Riis in his valuable work, "How the Other Half Lives." In a few sentences an attempt will be made to outline the principal points in his treatment of the subject. On the East Side, New York, "Every corner has its gang," not always on the best of terms with its rivals in the next block, but all with a common programme of defiance of law and order, and with a common ambition to get "pinched," *i. e.*, arrested, so as to pose as heroes before their fellows. Individually the New York tough is an arrant coward, it is only when he hunts with a pack that he is dangerous. Then his individual vanity makes him forgetful of all fear or caution in his desire to distinguish himself before his fellows—a result of swallowing all the flash literature and pennydreadfuls that he can borrow, beg or steal—and there is never any lack of them—and of a strangely dramatic element in his nature that is nursed by such a diet into rank and morbid growth.

The gangs have their club rooms, where they meet, generally in a tenement, sometimes under a pier or dump, to carouse, play cards and plan their raids. The gangs, like foxes, have

more than one hole to their dens. In some localities, where the interior of the block is filled with rear tenements, often set off at all sorts of odd angles, surprise alone is practicable. Pursuit through the winding ways and passages is impossible. A tenement once pitched upon by the gang with its ear marks of nightly symposiums, "can rackets," in the language of the streets, is on the road to rapid deterioration. Valuable property is often well nigh ruined by being made such a thoroughfare.

Outrages by the gangs are numerous. Within a single week, one spring, the newspapers recorded six murderous assaults on unoffending people committed by highwaymen on the public streets. How many more were suppressed by the police, who always do their utmost to hush up such outrages in the interests of justice, it is impossible to say. Entire neighborhoods are so terrorized that no one dares to testify against the gang. Occasionally their atrocities are appalling. A young lad, who was the only support of his aged parents, was beaten to death, within a few months, by the Alley Gang, simply for being at work, trying to earn an honest living. The state of affairs here described existed in 189 . At present many of the gangs are unorganized, and the East Side is in a state of quiescence.

In England, there has been of late considerable complaint regarding the depredations of similar gangs. The *London Daily Times* of April 10, 1898, refers to certain cities and towns where numbers of youthful ruffians in their teens band themselves together to commit depredations and assaults, sometimes with pistols, and are a perfect nuisance to their neighborhoods. The passing of the rod and the substitution therefor of juvenile reformatories, imprisonment, fines, etc., is held responsible for this outbreak of hoodlumism. Reinstate whipping seems to be the counsel of many charity experts.

These London gangs are more brutal and daring than the similar organizations of New York. Nearly every district has a gang of its own which terrorize the neighborhood and fight among themselves. Each of these gangs, whose members vary in age from thirteen to twenty years, has its bosses, whose authority is recognized and whose commands are implicitly obeyed. The bosses are not formally elected, but attain their position in virtue of their extra daring and general capacity for command. When war is waged, sanguinary and often fatal conflicts ensue. They are battles in which the combatants fight if not to kill, at least to seriously maim each other. Pistols are quite common ; knives equally so, and the members of the gang who are not thus armed content themselves with carrying clubs loaded with lead, iron bars and bits of lead piping. A short time back a little girl was shot dead in one of these encounters ; while at last session one young ruffian was sent to

penal servitude for six years, while his companions received shorter terms of imprisonment for grave assault on a police constable.

Like the New York toughs, these youths individually feel the greatest dread of a policeman, as indeed they do of any resolute, able bodied man. But in numbers they apparently dread nobody; and thus it is that the police have a difficult and dangerous task when they have to stop such young ruffians from battering one another about and terrorizing the peaceful members of the community.

To solve the problem which presents itself in these extracts, we must turn to the underlying factors. Both the statistical and reminiscent studies point to the existence of an exceedingly strong tendency in boys to revert to immediate physical reactions, which usually takes the form of contests, to determine athletic superiority. This tendency is so strong as to almost furnish the keynote to his education. Athletic games not only supply the boy with his opportunity for physical training, but with a large part of his social training as well. For the best embodiment of this idea of government through organized athletic games, we must turn to the great English public schools. Perverted, this same tendency or instinct forms the gang or predatory which parents are entirely justified in considering a danger for boys between the ages of 12 and 18. All such organizations truly harmful are the outgrowth of the artificial conditions of the modern city or manufacturing town. The natural modes of expression for the physical reaction instinct, the baseball, football and cycling clubs, are impossible for certain large classes of population in the modern American city. Deprived of the natural outlet, boys and youths revert to the ideals and institutions of savagery. This leads to the discussion of one of the greatest defects in American education to-day, viz., the lack of suitable opportunity for the training of the working classes through athletics. It is, however, the function of the present paper to point out the direction of a solution rather than to attempt to deal with the solution itself.

PART III.

ADULT SOCIETIES FOR CHILDREN.

Within the last thirty years, the social instinct in children has been seized upon as the basis of numerous associations designed to accomplish various adult ends. Of these organizations there are two chief classes. The first may be characterized as the positive or aggressive type. It aims by means of association to inoculate the child's mind with the ethical, social and religious ideas of their parents, their class or their church.

With these ends, modifications of various religious and philanthropic associations have been introduced. Most of the existing organizations are of this type. Recently there has been a change in the point of view, and a second type of children's societies has been produced—the negative. Its object is merely to afford an outlet for the social instinct, and it has no ideals, ethical or otherwise, to inculcate.

Foremost in the new work has been the church. The best representative of the activity of the Protestant denominations has been the Junior and Intermediate branches of the Society of Christian Endeavor. The function of the Junior branch is, in the words of its promoters, "to prepare boys and girls for the active service of Christ." In its main features, it is an adoption of the Senior society; the chief difference being that adult leadership is substituted for self government. The members of the Junior organization take a consecration pledge and possess a working constitution, similar to, though simpler than that of the parent society.

The historian of the Order considers the formation of the Junior societies as the "logical outcome" of the movement. This expression points the way to one of the chief criticisms sometimes passed upon the work, viz., that it is too logical and consistent a copy of the methods of the Senior society. It is said that the organization tends to mechanical imitation. The literature issued from the central office of the society would tend to confirm this view. The plan of campaign minimizes the influence of personality and underestimates the value of leadership in juvenile work. The societies are told that they must not wait for a good leader, but take any one. Experience, however, has shown that the success of these Junior branches is dependent almost exclusively on the personal qualities of the leader. Institutional mechanics are too much emphasized. The Junior departments of the Young Peoples Societies of the other Evangelical Protestant churches, such as the Baptist Young People's Union and the Epworth League are very similar to the Junior Christian Endeavor in organization and methods.

The Roman Catholic church possesses no distinctly children's organization. After confirmation, which usually takes place at the age of 12, the children may be, and in many parishes are, organized into sodalities; this form of organization is, however, by no means confined to children and adolescents. The sodality is governed by a council consisting of a father director, a prefect and two assistants. Among the duties of the members of the sodality are the following: To daily examine their conscience, to recite morning and evening prayers, and to practice the Christian virtues demanded by the duties of their state in life. Once a week the members of the sodality assemble

together and recite in common the little office of the Blessed Virgin Mary (a portion of the ritual to be memorized). Once a month they make their confession and approach holy communion in a body, wearing the badge of the sodalities. Their organization being optional with the priest of each parish, it has been found impossible to collect exact numerical data concerning them.

Another unique form of religious organization for children is that of the boys' branch of the two brotherhoods. One of these, that of St. Andrew, is confined to the Protestant Episcopal church, while the other, dedicated to Andrew and Philip, is interdenominational (Protestant). They differ from the Junior Christian Endeavor and similar societies in being confined to boys. The members are bound by two vows. The rule of prayer requires each brother to pray daily for the advancement of Christ's kingdom among boys. By the rule of service, they pledge themselves to take some part in the work or service of the church and to get other boys to do the same. Both these Orders are distinctively religious in character. Amusements are provided, not for the use of the members, but for the boys they are expected to influence. "They are not a guild or boys' club, but training schools for Christian loyalty. The advantages of the brotherhood idea are two: First, the boys are by themselves; secondly, the element of personal and institutional loyalty; something tangible before the boys and easily comprehended, is insisted upon, rather than ethical principles.

In addition to the church societies there are other organizations based on Christian teaching, but placing the religious element in subordinate position and laying chief stress upon the accomplishment of practical philanthropic work. An excellent example of this sort of institution is the "Ministering Children's League," an international order founded by the Countess of Meath. This society endeavors to accomplish two ends. Primarily it aims to "promote kindness, usefulness, and the habit of usefulness among children." These results are best obtained by giving them some work to do. As a consequence, each member pledges himself "to do at least one kind deed every day." The hand-book of the league emphasizes the gain of immediately attempting some charitable scheme, and directions for making games and packing Christmas boxes are sent to each society. This Order numbers 50,000 members in the United States. The King's Sons, and the children's branch of the Ten Times One is Ten clubs, organized by Edward Everett Hale, carry out a similar programme.

Another class is formed by those organizations which have some one definite social reform in view. Such a society is the

Loyal Temperance Legion, which is under the auspices of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The members pledge themselves to abstain from alcoholic stimulants and narcotics. The society issues manuals and charts showing the effect of intemperance on the human system. Like the junior branch of the Society of Christian Endeavor, there is a complete institutional organization among the children. In the last five years considerable attention has been devoted to practice in parliamentary law. By its last annual report there were 100,000 members of the legion. The Protestant Episcopal Church, many dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church, and secret temperance societies like the Good Templars, all possess children's organizations devoted to this purpose, and varying in efficiency. Nearly akin to these are the "Bands of Mercy," organized in the common schools for the protection of animals. Their constitution is very simple, consisting of a skeleton of an organization, a pledge and a badge. The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, under the leadership of George Angell, has circulated humane literature by the ton through the medium of these Bands of Mercy.

Such is a brief and inadequate sketch of some of the leading forms of adult activity for children found in the country. The movement is assuming large proportions. Children's societies are becoming important weapons of propaganda. At least one child in every three belongs to some such association, and their number and influence are rapidly increasing. From the standpoint of a student of pedagogy what is to be said of their expediency?

An understanding of the subject will be promoted by endeavoring to comprehend the point of view of their promoters. The following justification from one of their oldest exponents, Mrs. Mary Low Dickinson, of the Society of King's Daughters, is inserted for this purpose. In response to the query, shall children early be allowed to become members of religious and philanthropic societies? she writes:

"We would say that any little child is old enough to know that he is sometimes naughty, that he has his little temper and greediness and fretfulness and laziness to struggle with, is old enough to be helped to see those things and be inspired with a desire to overcome them. In other words, the little boy who knows that he is a bad boy and would like to be better, is old enough to be taught that Jesus, his Saviour, is loving and watching and ready to help him to be better, and that he can leave off his naughtiness and try to be good for His sake. One little fellow of four years, on having this explained to him, said quietly that he would have 'to consider it,' and the next day came to his auntie with the statement that he would like to try to be one of the little sons of the King. Whenever his naughty little temper got the better of him thereafter he ran to his mother pulling at his little badge with, 'Take it off quick, mamma, take it off, I am bad.'

"We have all heard of the children who are watching their mothers' faces, and making it their business to let no new wrinkles come; and, without exaggeration, our records contain thousands on thousands of instances in which the selfishness and naughtiness of little children have been overcome by the constant reminder which the little cross was to them, that they must return good for evil, and think and speak no evil of those with whom they had to do."

The question which arises in connection with the instances cited in the above eloquent appeal is: Are these children normal? Are ordinary healthy boys and girls troubled concerning their sins? Have they a passion for altruism? Are they inclined to protect birds and beasts and save their pennies for the pagan children of India or Central Africa? Most of the evidence thus far collected fails to substantiate the position taken by Mrs. Dickinson. Few children's societies organized voluntarily have altruistic features. They are "to have fun," "so we could get together," etc. In response to one of the rubrics of the questionnaire the respondents gave the reasons why, when younger, they enjoyed attending these adult societies for children. In these answers, the music, the picnics, the entertainments, the pleasures of office-holding figured largely, while altruistic reasons were in a small minority, and were limited to girls. It was the universal testimony that such organizations had no charms for the average boy, who seldom attended unless compelled to. This important sex difference, when added to the fact that boys and girls during this period of their lives seldom associate together in their voluntary enterprises, would seem to demand separate treatment and separate organizations for the two sexes.

All the testimony thus far collected bears out the hypothesis that altruism is one of the concomitants of the emotional upheaval of adolescence. It would appear, therefore, that many of the organizations now founded for children rest upon adult ethics and psychology rather than upon any knowledge or study of child nature. Many of these organizations are premature, and when effective produce a growth of hot-house virtues destined soon to disappear. However, their effectiveness is questionable. To a certain slight extent they give the child a social training in manipulating the machinery of organization. But, as a rule, if the responses to the questionnaire are typical, they furnish a meeting place for girls, and to some extent perform the functions of a social club, while boys stay away, or, when compelled to attend, create disturbances which are difficult to deal with.

That this is not a mere academic conclusion is shown by the fact that several groups of the most advanced Christian workers are throwing themselves into the organization of boys' clubs. The Y. M. C. A., which formerly neglected this branch of

their work, are determined at length to put it on an equal footing with other lines of activity. The university settlements have been experimenting with the problem under great difficulty owing to the quality of boys dealt with. Churches and cities are organizing boys' clubs on a sound financial footing. Four lodges for boys, based on what is believed to be a sound analysis of boy character, have been formed. Of these, the Boy's Brigade, a military organization, has attracted the largest share of public attention. Owing to the cost of equipment, the monotony of drill, and the difficulty of securing competent leaders, the organization has but a limited field of usefulness. It has also been objected to with some appearance of reason because of its "jingoistic" tendencies. Another order is that of the "Knights of King Arthur," which aims to perpetuate "our noblest Anglo-Saxon legend." It is a knightly fraternity, not a secret society. Its attractiveness to boys is said to be in its appeal to the love of show and mystery. The Princely Knights of Character Castle and the Coming Men of America, are two secret orders of somewhat similar character. The former has, however, a religious basis, while the latter is purely a business enterprise. All these lodges are increasing their membership with great rapidity. They subject themselves to criticism by the comparatively slight attention they pay to athletics, the strongest interest of boyhood.

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